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either of the nearest relatives or of the clan to which the lodge belonged. They believed that the lodge had a spirit which would have sent bad luck to one taking possession illegally.

The females of the lodge owned in common the domestic goods consisting of bedding, pots, household and gardening tools, the dogs, gardens, the wooden mortar and pestle, and the mares and colts. Clothing and personal effects were held individually. The men owned their weapons used in warfare and hunting as well as their own clothing and pipes. Men also owned the stallions and geldings. Sacred tribal bundles were held collectively by the man and his wives.

Lodges were built with little ceremony; the only rites were performed at the cutting of the notches for the four center posts when an old woman having the right to cut the posts was called in to sing one song and pray for the family's success. She received one robe for her services. It was the duty of the clan to assist in the erection of a member's lodge. Since these lodges were large, a considerable amount of work was entailed in erecting one and covering it with poles, willows, grass, and earth.[3] As a rule, the clan prepared a feast and invited the opposite moiety to assist, in which case the clans assisted according to the seating arrangement of the men in the Okipa or in council.

Mandan informants state that in earlier times each household had one or more game pits. These pits were dug by all the members of the household and were owned collectively. While the men would bring the poles for the cover and kill the game caught in them, the women frequently did most of the work of excavating and removing earth from the area of the pit. In recent times many households had fishtraps which are believed to have been used since introduced by Black Wolf. Fish bones, particularly catfish bones, are very abundant in the Heart River villages. The ceremonies associated with the trapping of fish, particularly the catfish, were performed by the older men, but the women assisted in weaving the walls for the trap and in sorting and cleaning the fish.

There was considerable variability in the status of household

3. For a report of the amount of materials used in the completion of an earth lodge see George F. Will, "The Mandan Lodge at Bismarck," *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 1 (October, 1930).

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fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

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he divided those sitting on the east side into seven groups and gave each group a name, informing them that their sisters and mothers would belong to the same group. Since men of all villages were present at the time, clans were taken back to all villages of the tribe.

Of the thirteen clans, nine have become extinct. Bites in Nose was said to be the last to remember the thirteen clans which he would call in turn during the Okipa ceremony. The WaxikEna and Tamisik constitute one moiety and the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle make up the other moiety today. When the last performance of the Okipa ceremony was held after going onto the Reservation, the WaxikEna and Tamisik occupied the west side of the lodge, and the other two clans took the opposite side. At that time Hidatsa fasters participated in the ceremony, and the members of their three-clan moiety sat with the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while the four-clan moiety sat on the opposite side.

The Mandan consider the WaxikEna to be the highest clan, since it held the rights in the Okipa ceremony. The word *waxikEna* means "to tell bad stories about." The word *tamisik* has no meaning, but the people of that clan were said to be stingy and were frequently teased for serving small portions on wooden platters placed before visitors. *Tamixixiks* refers to poor leather used in making harnesses for carrying wood.

According to tradition, when the Mandan were first created by the culture hero, Lone Man, young men married their own sisters until the tribe became numerous, when clans were established to prevent marriage between relatives. The clan names had no sacred significance, and in the cases of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle there was no prohibition against killing these birds by members of the two clans.

The clans were organized groups and elected a leader who acted in an advisory capacity. He was an older person who had been successful in warfare or in hunting and had shown considerable interest in the members of the clan, particularly the old men and women. There were frequent clan feasts by some member of the clan, at which time they would discuss the success of individual members. When a young man contemplated buying an important ceremonial bundle or performing a ceremony, it

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was customary for the clan to meet in the clan leader's lodge and make provisions for the accumulation of goods to be used in the rites. It was believed that a successful ceremony with an abundance of gifts to be given away brought credit to the entire clan.

Moieties were in theory exogamous, but they had ceased to regulate marriage after 1837. Scattercorn explained that, while the Mandan considered those who sat on the same side in the Okipa or in council as brothers, it was considered better to marry into a clan of the same moiety than to marry outside the tribe. Marriages within the clan were disapproved.

The clan was a property-holding group. The major bundles of the Okipa ceremony were held in the WaxikEna clan, which also owned the sacred cedar and controlled the Okipa lodge and sacred turtles. Traditionally, the Shell Robe bundle belonged in the Prairie Chicken clan. Eagle-trapping lodges belonged to the clan of the member building it and remained in the clan when the original owner died. There were two bundles for the Big Bird ceremonies which were known as Black Medicine bundle and Sweet Medicine bundle. The former was inherited in the Prairie Chicken clan and the latter in the Speckled Eagle clan of the same moiety. Each clan was the theoretical custodian of one variety of corn. The WaxikEna clan was custodian of the bluish-green flint corn; the Tamisik had the red corn; the Prairie Chicken had the yellow flint and dent; the Speckled Eagle had the rainbow corn. Crows Heart stated that Hides-and-Eats, an old woman who lived in his lodge, told him that, when she was young, people of one clan were not permitted to raise corn belonging to the other clans without first securing the rights and that each clan claimed to be the preserver of its own corn.

It was the duty of the clan to assist its own members. It was the clan's duty to care for its old people having no blood children. During the smallpox epidemic of 1837, women went through the villages and gathered the orphans of their clan, who were taken into their lodges to be reared. Old people were invited in to be fed and clothed by younger members of their own clan. When returning from a successful hunt, young men would offer meat to the old people who met them at the outskirts of the village. One was expected to offer meat to old people of the same clan without being asked for it.

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614 421 The clan was the medium for the transfer of property when a family died out without leaving descendants. When an individual died, leaving no relatives, the clan took possession of the property. The lodge was occupied by females of the same clan or could be sold to women of a different clan. It was the duty of the clan to assist a female member in repairing or building her lodge and to put up property for one of its number who was inviting [424] the opposite moiety to assist in building a new lodge. The clan owned certain names which belonged within the clan and were not sold outside the clan.

614 621 171 The clans extended through all the villages of the tribe and were in part equated with Hidatsa clans. Both tribes had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik was the equivalent of the Hidatsa Metsiroka. The Hidatsa also had a few people of the Speckled Eagle clan who were said to be of Mandan origin.[4]

614 578 It was the duty of the clan to revenge the killing of one of its members. In the event of the murder of one of its number, the murderer would attempt to escape to the Crow, since the Hidatsa would not protect a murderer from the Mandan villages for fear of war between the two tribes.

614 The clan assisted at the death of a son. They prepared the body for the scaffold and sent the spirit away. It was also the duty of the father's clan to bring the skull of one dying away from the village back for disposal. Feasts were given to the members of the father's clan, and help was asked of individual members by those contemplating war expeditions. Men of the father's clan inserted the thongs for a faster. The permanent

4. The Hidatsa give a different account of the origin of this clan. Mrs. Bears Arm, a member of the clan, stated that there was a Mandan woman of the Prairie Chicken clan who was childless. She was a hard worker and had large gardens. One morning when she went to her gardens she noticed that someone had been hoeing the corn. She inquired in the village if someone had been working in her garden and could find none who had been working there. She went out before daylight to see who it was. Several whitetail deer were working in the garden. They ran away when they saw the woman. As they disappeared, she heard one say, "I left my baby there." The baby was a speckled eagle. She took the baby home to rear as her own and wanted the child to belong to the Prairie Chicken clan, but the others would not agree to it, since the child came of a different source. The child grew up and had children who were known as speckled eagles. While living below the Knife River, men of the Awaxawi village married a few girls of that clan and brought them to their own village to live. The group is treated as a lineage of the Hidatsa Prairie Chicken clan.

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The permanent name one received when returning from the first successful war expedition was received from the father's clan.

The moiety had both ceremonial and economic functions. When dividing the buffalo captured in the corral, the inclosure was symbolic of the ceremonial lodge. A line was drawn through the center of the corral extending from the midpoint of the entrance to the opposite side. Those animals falling to the left of the entrance belonged to the WaxikEna and Tamisik, while those of the opposite side belonged to the other moiety. Women of a moiety butchered on their side without regard to clan. Each moiety constructed its half of the ceremonial lodge and would also erect an earth lodge used as a residence when the clan of the owner of the new lodge assisted in putting up goods for the assistance rendered by the opposite moiety. It was believed that the moiety regulated marriage prior to the last smallpox epidemic, but a study of lineages indicated that it had little influence over marriages after 1837. There was a feeling that in former times traditional eagle-trapping sites were divided into moieties, each moiety trapping on its side of the Missouri River. If such division existed, all evidences had disappeared before 1870. There was considerable competition between moieties. When one moiety had more successful war leaders than the other, its members would tease the others and question their bravery. Sons of men of the same moiety teased each other a great deal. Each moiety had a leader who assisted in the division of the buffalo taken in a corral.

VILLAGE AND TRIBAL LEADERSHIP

Mandan village and tribal leadership was vested in the hierarchy of bundle-owners or priests who constituted a group of head men whose number varied from time to time depending on the status of the various bundles. From this group two leaders were selected whose war or peacemaking record exceeded that of all others or who, because of other practices, had acquired considerable popularity with the people. The one whose record in warfare was greatest was selected in council to be war chief. A second chief selected was one who had important ceremonial bundles, had given many feasts, and had performed many rites for the general welfare of the village. These were considered the

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pecially important in Mandan social and ceremonial life, since individuals in the father's father's lineage usually occupy a closer relationship through marriage. 601 613

These lineages are the basis of the Mandan kinship structure; they extend kinship relations beyond the elementary family to the limits of the tribe; they regulate the behavior and social 613

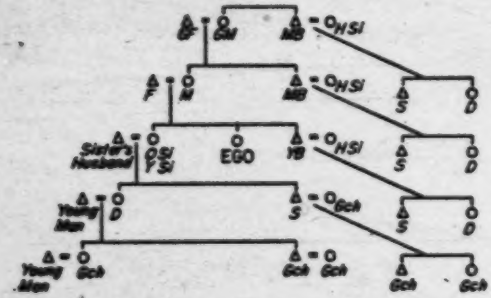

FIG. 11.—Mother's lineage. Ego = female

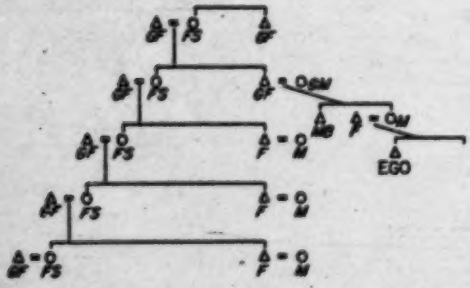

FIG. 12.—Mother's father's lineage. Ego = male

relations of the entire village. The extension of this lineage principle united the various villages into a tribal unit.

The Mandan had numerous methods of extending the range of kinship, and the character of the pattern resulting from this extension is important for an understanding of social integration. The Mandan treat everyone as a relative and recognize varying degrees of nearness of relationship. A person is considered to be related to everyone of his own clan and is a "son" to all males and females of his father's clan. Marriage introduces another set of relatives, and the custom of adopting a "son" 602 608 541 614

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602 608 597 614 brings together still another set of relatives between whom there is frequently established a "father-son" bond extending to the "father-son" relatives which was often more intimate than with the "son's" own father who may be separated from the son's mother. This relationship to persons outside the biological family may be further altered by ceremonial participation. Adoption of a child from outside the clan, though uncommon, did occur, and the one adopted, by changing his or her clan status, [616] affected the relationship of both groups. When no other relationship was applicable, the moiety functioned as a clan. There was a further extension of the kinship to embrace the supernatural. Details of this classification appear in the chapters on ceremonialism contained in this report. The kinship pattern was also extended to include persons of neighboring tribes, even unfriendly tribes, when a friendship developed between individuals of different tribes; formal adoption established relationships that played an important role in restricting warfare and promoting trade. The numerous devices for extending kinship between the villages frequently brought about a situation in which a Mandan had a choice of two or more terms of relationship for the same person. The situation determined the term to be employed. Obviously those who are most closely associated in daily and ceremonial activities were considered closest in making a decision. When the writer was collecting the materials for this report, he was very anxious to use Tom Smith as interpreter for Scattercorn, since he was familiar with the specific problem being developed at that time. She refused to work with him on the grounds that she considered him a "son-in-law." The relationship between the two was this: Scattercorn's (Tamisik clan) sister's daughter's daughter married Edgar Crows Heart, who was Tom Smith's sister's son (Water-buster clan). She was, of course, Edgar Crows Heart's mother-in-law, but she extended the taboo to Tom Smith because he visited a great deal at Crows Heart's home. She did not consider Drags Wolf a son-in-law, although of Edgar Crows Heart's clan, because he rarely called at Crows Heart's lodge.

601 614 The importance of the clan in regard to the kinship has been brought out in the foregoing discussions, but this should not be interpreted to mean that the kinship system is a clan system.

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In most instances, the unit of extension is the clan, but these relationships are based on individual relations and groups. This point will be further developed in the analysis of the ceremonial structure.

The following behavioristic pattern prevailing between relatives will illustrate this point. For any individual the total number of relationships into which he entered largely determines his "social personality." The most basic of these are between the members of the elementary family, the parents and the children, but in Mandan society this is frequently modified by the presence of old women of the lodge who occupy a virtual second-mother position. An elementary family consisting of parents and children rarely occupied a lodge to the exclusion of all other relatives. There are eight possible combinations of relatives within an elementary family with a general pattern of behavior existing between each pair. They are:

Mother–daughter (*na'E'–mi'nuhą'kE*).—An intimate bond of love and affection existed between a mother and her daughter. Not a single instance of quarreling or serious difference was remembered by the Mandan informants, nor were there disputes over property held in common. They worked together in the gardens or performed domestic tasks in the lodge and were very intimate in their daily relations. She taught the child to grind corn and cure meat, to make baskets and clay pots, to dress hides, to color porcupine quills for decorating clothing, and to care for her own personal effects. She taught her daughter to make a small payment, a small colored bead or a few kernels of corn, for each little skill taught her, thus establishing at an early age a significant behavioristic pattern of paying those who taught her a new skill, a myth or song, or who received her into a rite or dance. Usually there were other women in the lodge whom she addressed as "Mother," and, if one of these had no daughter of her own, she would take over or adopt a daughter from the lodge unit for especial affection and care. Frequently the father's older sister, if she had no one to care for her, would come to the lodge to live when the lodge was one that had been erected or owned in the father's line and the mother had come here to live when marrying because the father was needed to care for his relatives who were old. She was called "daughter"

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was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader would cry as he approached the village, while the other members would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be opposed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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assistance and the fact that the game run into yards was divided on a moiety basis.

Households having no males suffered most in their ceremonial life. When an important tribal bundle got out of the lodge, it was usually difficult to get it back.

Marriage within the clan was not permitted. There was no punishment other than tribal criticism, and in the census taken as of 1870–72 only one instance was reported by informants, and all the informants questioned on this point mentioned the case. The one instance of marriage within the clan was between Standing Bear and Beaver Woman; though the tribe did not approve of the marriage, they thought that in a way it was justified, since Beaver Woman's mother suggested the marriage after both parties were over fifty-five years of age. The women were brought to Standing Bear's lodge, and the marriage was entered into after the women lost their lodge.

Certain Mandan clans had Hidatsa equivalents. Both had a Prairie Chicken clan; the Mandan WaxikEna clan was considered equivalent to the Hidatsa Maxoxati; the Tamisik clan was equivalent to the Hidatsa Knife clan. The Mandan were not in agreement as to the wisdom of marriage between Mandan-Hidatsa equated clans. Some treated them as separate lineages and considered marriage permissible. Bad Gun's wife's younger sister, however, refused to marry him, believing that the Tamisik and Knife were divisions of a single clan.

The Mandan claim that moieties were exogamous until after 1837 and that it was more convenient to go through the ceremonies with the wives when they were of opposite moieties, giving as the basis for the breakdown of the moieties the shortage of men. People preferred to marry into the moiety to marrying outside the tribe.

Both the levirate and the sororate were permissible. When a man married to the older sister died, a younger brother had first chance to marry the widow, which he could do with only a token payment. Such marriages were highly regarded. This was rarely done, since, with a shortage of men, the younger brother was usually already married to several women. When a wife died, the husband could claim one of her younger sisters as wife, and she seldom refused, especially if her sister had small children.

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When a person believed he was about to die, the relatives were called and the dying person was dressed and painted before death, if possible. It was the duty of the father's clan to attend to the disposal of the body, and the dying person's request determined whether the body would be buried or placed on a scaffold. The Mandan claim that in earlier times earth burials were more common, and this belief is corroborated by the large number of both primary and secondary bundle burials found at their older villages near the Heart River. In some instances, they requested hilltop burials with only a covering of robes and stones. Most people were placed on scaffolds which were erected by members of the father's clan, and the "sending-away of the spirit" rites on the fourth day were performed by a woman of the father's clan. The body was placed on the scaffold with the head to the northwest and the feet to the southeast, the direction the spirits were believed to take to reach the Heart River. People never slept with their feet pointed to the southeast, believing that to do so would be to invite death. The relatives would come to the scaffold to mourn for four days. Whenever an eminent person died, all fires in the village were extinguished for one day while all the village mourned. It is said that even the dogs wept.

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The deceased person's personal property was taken by the brothers and sisters, and, when there were none living, the people of the clan took possession of the goods and divided it among themselves. In return for this property, they were required to go to the scaffold to mourn and to pay the mourners of the father's clan. When the deceased was an old woman of a couple occupying a lodge by themselves, the man left the lodge to live with people of his own clan, and the lodge was either abandoned or taken over by a group of females belonging to the deceased person's clan. When an old woman having no children or younger females in the lodge became feeble, she usually moved into another lodge where the females were of her clan.

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When a woman died leaving small children, her unmarried sisters were expected to provide for them and to marry the widower if he asked them. When the deceased mother had no sisters, the children were cared for by the maternal grandmother and her sisters. The clan provided for those who had no close blood relatives. Many families were broken up by the

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smallpox epidemic of 1837. The orphans were taken in by the females according to clan affiliation and reared as their own children.

Suicide was rare among the Mandan. The only instances remembered by Mandan informants were immediately following the last smallpox epidemic. When a household had been nearly exterminated, the remaining females frequently took their lives. Crows Heart thought that suicides were buried and that their spirits did not reach the spirit world. Scattercorn remembered hearing of two girls who hanged themselves in 1837 in the village where her father lived and said that they were placed on the scaffold which was built by her father whose sister sent the spirits away at the end of four days.

The last murder of a male occurred among the Mandan in 1820, part of the Mandan separating from the village group to live on Eagle Nose Butte until 1823, when the relatives of the murdered man invited them to return to Fort Clark Village. One who had been murdered was treated as though he had been killed in battle or had died a natural death. There was the usual preparation of the body by the relatives of the father's clan. The murderer, if caught, was killed by the murdered man's male siblings or clansmen, and his body was buried at a distance from the village. No rites were performed to send his spirit away. The murder of a woman by another woman was treated lightly and settled by a payment of goods.

The Mandan, and in later years the Hidatsa also, were accustomed to collect the bones of their relatives after the scaffolds on which they were placed had rotted and fallen to the ground. The skulls were taken to a place adjacent to the scaffolds and there arranged in circles of which there were a number near each village. Scattercorn claimed that the skulls of each circle were of closely related people who had belonged to the same clan and that these shrines enhanced the "sacred powers" of the Woman Above bundles which were a part of the shrine.[4] If these were clan shrines, the practice of arranging the circles according to clans must have been abandoned after moving to Like-a-Fishhook Village, as there were only two or three circles at most, and the Hidatsa made simultaneous use of these shrines

4. See Catlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–52, for an eyewitness description of these circles.

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for the disposal of the skulls of their dead. The other bones were gathered and wrapped in a hide before being buried in the village refuse or along the river and creek banks.

The custom of bringing back the skulls of those who died or were killed while away from the village was continued until the Mandan were placed on individual land allotments. When one died while away from the village, the body was wrapped in robes and either placed in a tree, a crevice among the rocks, or a shallow grave covered with rocks. The body was left there for one year, when it became the duty of the father's sister to make provision for its return. If the summer buffalo-hunting camp was in the vicinity of the grave, she would pay some man to obtain the skull, or she secured it herself if the party passed near by. The skull was wrapped in white sage and carried in a soft leather bag. It was considered sacred and was prayed to. Young men who addressed it as father would request permission to fast near it. When the party reached the village, the skull became a part of one of the skull circles.

After the Mandan were placed on individual allotments on the Fort Berthold Reservation, it was customary to place the dead in boxes and trunks or to wrap them in robes and blankets which were placed in crevices in rocks or on high hills. Those who were closely affiliated with one of the churches were prevailed upon to have their dead buried in the church cemetery. Some bodies were unburied as late as 1928. For a number of years after moving onto individual allotments, a skull circle was maintained on a hill a short distance east of the Tom Smith farm, but in later years the skulls were not removed.

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stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Prior to the first smallpox epidemic there were thirteen named clans, six clans dying out as a result of that epidemic. The three above clans of the west-side moiety survived together with the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, Crow, and Bear clans of the opposite moiety. The Bad Straps were assimilated into the Tamisik clan, while the Crow and Bear clans either died out or were assimilated with the Prairie Chickens after the smallpox epidemic of 1837.

The west-side moiety was established by Lone Man, who represented the village activities and peace functions of the tribe. The other moiety was divided into clans by Clay on the Face, who promised to give the people sitting opposite Lone Man's moiety names if he returned from a successful war expedition. As he returned from this expedition singing, he saw prairie chickens which were making a loud noise as they ate, the speckled eagles flying in the air, the bears in the timber, the snake people living in the red buttes near Old Woman Who Never Dies' lodge, the badger near his burrow on the prairie, the crows which were cawing, and mysterious people living in the small brush thickets. These were the names he gave to the people of his moiety.

Of the ten clans listed above, four survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837. They were WaxikEna, Tamisik, Prairie Chicken, and Speckled Eagle. Scattercorn's father, Moves Slowly, an officer in the Okipa, would call the name of each Nuptadi clan on the last day, and those impersonating the bulls would bellow as each was named. He had heard that the officers from the other village would formerly call the names of thirteen clans, but while at Fort Clark they dropped six extinct clans from the rites.

Each moiety owned its side of the ceremonial lodge. When erecting a new lodge or repairing the old one, the clans forming a moiety worked as a unit on their own side. Those fasting during the Okipa occupied places inside the lodge at the wall according to clan. Those of the WaxikEna were next to the door on the right side. The Tamisik occupied the balance of that side. On the left side the Prairie Chicken clan sat near to the door, and the Speckled Eagle clan occupied the remaining space on that side.

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

The ceremonial lodge was occupied by a prominent male of the WaxikEna clan who was known as the custodian of the Okipa lodge.[4] His family lived with him in the lodge. The WaxikEna clan, to which Lone Man, traditional founder of the ceremony, belonged, met and selected one of their number to occupy the lodge and protect the ceremonial equipment left there by the various officers of the ceremony. The Mandan, upon joining the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, built a ceremonial lodge and selected Arrowhead Earrings as custodian. His family lived in the lodge except when it was needed for a ceremony, at which time they removed their lodge property. The family was paid for the use of the lodge or, as Calf Woman explained, for the trouble they had been put to in preparing the lodge for the ceremony. When Arrowhead Earrings died, the lodge should have been taken over by another member of the WaxikEna clan. His son-in-law, Never Eats Marrow, although of the Hidatsa Knife clan, was held in such high respect by the Mandan that he was intrusted with the lodge, and his daughter, Calf Woman, who supplied much of the information about this ceremony, was born in this lodge. She ultimately acquired the buffalo masks used in the ceremony through purchase from the WaxikEna clan after the buffaloes became extinct and the ceremony was no longer being performed.[5]

The repair of the cedar[6] and the wall inclosing it was also in-

4. Catlin is possibly in error when he says: "The 'Medicine Lodge,' the largest in the village and seventy-five feet in diameter, with four images (sacrifices of different-coloured and costly cloths) suspended on poles above it, was considered by these people as a sort of temple, held as strictly sacred, being built and used solely for these four days' ceremonies, and closed during the rest of the year" (George Catlin, *O-Kee-Pa* [Philadelphia, 1867], p. 81).

5. This is an instance of shifting from clan inheritance commonly occurring since 1845.

6. Scattercorn in recent years was considered custodian of the sacred cedar, which was placed west of Crows Heart's home. Members of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans were expected to attend and assist in the repair. Others would come to make offerings to the cedar at that time, which in recent years consisted chiefly of calicoes. She used one song during the ceremonial repairing of the cedar and inclosure, and it was directed to the four directions.

At the east side of the cedar she would sing:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE (east people) masa'numąkE (north people)
mikaxo' (big herd. Buffalo cows.) maxEnu (one)
EhE'nakahoc (I am saying)

At the west side she sang:

ota'numąkE masa'numąkE
mikaxo' nupa (two)
EhE'nakahoc

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

trusted to the WaxikEna clan, who could take any articles left at the cedar as an offering for their own use. The amount of goods placed at the cedar during a year was considerable, since sometime during the performance of every ceremony and age-grade society dance a visit was made to the cedar to ask the blessings of Lone Man, and some article of value was placed there. In the case of strictly winter ceremonies held in the winter camp where a cedar was never erected, offerings frequently were not made to the cedar. The cedar together with the surrounding wall and willow band was called Minimi'tahEdE, meaning "the retreat of the waters."

In theory, goods deposited at the cedar became the property of any member of the WaxikEna clan who happened to be passing by. In practice, however, the goods finally reached the old men and women of that clan. Those appropriating too much goods for personal use lost status in the village. Those living near the cedar had an advantage over those more distantly removed in reaching the goods first. Apparently there was no tendency to take the offerings away at once. Scattercorn told how a very beautiful robe hung on the wall several days before a man removed it and then not until a number of people had gathered there and to whom he announced that he had observed that a feeble clan brother was in need of a new robe since the one he was then wearing was shabby.

Each fixed village unit had its own complete set of officers. Crows Heart explained that the tribe was formerly divided into a number of fixed bands, each one occupying one or more villages. His mother belonged to the Is'topa ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves"). There were also the Nuptadi, Ma'nana'rE[7] ("Those Who Quarreled"), Awigaxa,[8] and Nuitadi. Each of

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At the north side she sang:

o-ta'-nu-mą-kE masa'numąkE
mi-ka-xo' na'mini (three)
EhE'nakahoc

At the south side she sang:

ota'numąkE masa'numąkE
mikaxo' to'pa (four)
EhE'nakahoc.

7. Other informants thought that the Mananada was not a fixed band but any small group who separated from a principal village when quarrels occurred.

8. According to tradition, this group lived near the Grand River until late prehistoric times and did not practice the Okipa until they moved to the Painted Woods

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mony. In the beginning, the people lived an extremely simple life without tools and weapons. At that time there were no societies and only a few simple rites, one of which was a Buffalo Dance in which one man danced. It is believed that, as time passed, the people acquired skills along many lines; there was a corresponding development of mutual obligations; new societies and ceremonies were adopted which grew in complexity. It is also believed that there was a parallel development of the Okipa ceremony from the simple Buffalo Dance to its complex form as performed until seventy-five years ago, and that the cultural growth of the tribe was divided into four periods which were represented by the four days of the ceremony.

The principal characters in the ceremony were Lone Man (NumakmaxEna), Speckled Eagle (Hoita), Giver of Ceremony (Koni'saka), and the singers.

Lone Man was without question the tribe's most important deity. The original Lone Man belonged to the WaxikEna clan, and a bundle was founded which contained all the articles used by the Lone Man impersonator during the ceremony. Inheritance was through the WaxikEna clan. Before the smallpox epidemics, there were at least two similar and graded bundles in each village, and the men holding rights in the Okipa met to select from their number those who would officiate during the next ceremony.

According to tradition the original Lone Man established the rule that the bundle should belong to the WaxikEna clan. However, before he left the tribe, he desired a white buffalo robe owned by his brother's son. The young man offered to exchange his robe for Lone Man's bundle, and this transaction was made, the bundle and office passing temporarily from the WaxikEna clan. The principal bundle was kept, after the smallpox epidemic of 1837, at Nuptadi Village, and a secondary bundle was kept by the other village group. Women could inherit and buy the bundle but could not officiate in the rites. Beaver's brother owned a bundle originally at Nuptadi Village prior to 1837. When he died, his sister transferred the bundle to her daughters, Shells and Grows First, who were both of the WaxikEna clan. Little Eagle, who had married the two sisters, paid them for the right to officiate in the ceremony. He then

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1. A buffalo-skin apron with buffalo-hair strands attached
2. Flat staff with the moon and thunderbird carved on one side, a star and the sun on the other
3. A stuffed raven
4. Two-piece wooden pipe inlaid with a dark-colored stone
5. Jackrabbit-skin collar and anklets
6. Headdress of porcupine trimmed with jackrabbit skin
7. A set of buffalo teeth
8. A war-bonnet trailer of alternating raven and swan feathers
9. A buffalo-hair headdress with a stuffed owl attached
10. Four buffalo tails with white buffalo hair attached
11. A staff decoration consisting of a buffalo tail trimmed with weasel fur

Bundle-owners were custodians of the turtle drums, the sacred cedar, and the ceremonial lodge.

796 776 773 The office of Hoita ranked equal in importance with that of the Lone Man during the performance of the Okipa but otherwise was unimportant. Hoita or Speckled Eagle represented the People Above but had had no part in the creation of the earth according to the mythology. He was born into the tribe where he was recognized for his supernatural powers. Because of jealousy over a white buffalo robe, he imprisoned the animals in Dog Den Butte. When he learned that another who claimed to be his "son" through the medium of the "walking" ceremony was holding the Okipa, he freed the animals and agreed to co-operate with Lone Man in performing the Okipa.

796 614 The rule was that the Hoita should belong to either the WaxikEna or Tamisik clan, and there is no evidence that this rule was ever broken, at least in the memory of my informants. During the period of readjustment following the smallpox epidemic of 1837, Big Turtle (Tamisik clan) held the office. He sold rights in the office to Moves Slowly (WaxikEna clan), who impersonated Hoita, while Big Turtle served as director of the singers. Moves Slowly sold his rights to Iron Eyes (WaxikEna), who officiated, while Moves Slowly assisted the singers. The right to officiate in the Okipa ceremony was given at a public feast.

796 The Hoita directed the ceremonies performed inside the ceremonial lodge. He supervised the fasters and saw that none who had interrupted their fasting returned to the lodge. He directed the selection of characters represented in the dances and supervised the painting, indicating the time when each rite was to be

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796 performed so that the day and night were properly divided. Lone Man directed the re-enactment of the flood, ceremonies at the cedar, and the use of the turtles as drums. The Hoita could not leave the lodge during the ceremony but sat in his place without speaking while the rites were being performed. This was symbolic of the time he sat in Dog Den Butte holding all the animals prisoners.

Eight singers were required; six used the rolled hides or the turtles, three beating toward the "upstream" and three toward [434] the "downstream" direction. The other two singers carried rattles. Singers bought the right to officiate, and a checkup of [614] clan affiliation of singers reveals an absence of clan restrictions. Likewise anyone having Lone Man or Hoita rights could be a singer providing he was not officiating in another capacity. There were usually many with singer rights so that turns were taken.

One man was selected by the other officers to impersonate the blue heron when none owned that right. He sat at the head of the lodge throughout the ceremony without speaking. The ceremonial paraphernalia which he wore were returned to the officers at the close of the ceremony.

The above-mentioned officers formed the nucleus of the ceremony and constituted, together with those who had previously given the ceremony, the Okipa Religious Society. To these men, meeting in council, was intrusted the duty of selecting qualified young men to give the ceremony. It is doubtful that any man could rise to the position of head or second chief who had not at one time given the ceremony. My informants were in agreement that the two highest chiefs would belong to the Okipa Religious Society by virtue, not of being officers of the Okipa, but because they had given the ceremony.

796 The desire to give the ceremony was the result of a vision ex-
787 perience wherein one had seen buffaloes singing the Okipa songs. The vision recipient would then have a feast prepared in his lodge, to which he invited the Okipa Religious Society. After the feast he would relate his vision experience and ask for an interpretation. Not all men dreaming of the buffalo bulls singing Okipa songs were permitted to give the ceremony. A young man having such a dream would tell his parents of his supernatural

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to the performers, or one who had given the ceremony could volunteer. Men giving the ceremony more than once were highly respected. Four Bears gave the ceremony a second time even after he had already become second chief.

Though the ceremony was long, candidates offering to perform the Okipa were acquainted with most of the songs, dances, and prayers beforehand, so the task of instructing the candidate did not require a great deal of time. Since most young men hoped that sometime they would be selected to be a Bull Dancer, they noted carefully the role performed by the Bulls.

It took a great deal of courage to become an Okipa Maker, and the tribe spoke of those who had done so as the bravest men and looked to them for leadership. It required a considerable amount of property to give the Okipa, for the giver was expected to prepare feasts for the officers of the Okipa during the time he received instructions. He was expected to have at least one hundred articles consisting of robes, elkskin dresses, dress goods, shirts with porcupine work, knives, and men's leggings. Usually one family could not acquire so much personal property.

The Okipa Maker's wives began to gather clothing as soon as permission was granted their husband to direct the ceremony, which was usually a year in advance. The women called in their female relatives, and sometimes their women's societies helped them. The man asked help of his mothers and sisters as well as the members of his own and his father's clan. As a last resort, he gave a clan feast which all the members of his clan attended. There would be speeches about clan loyalty, and the old men would tell of the great men of the tribe who belonged to their clan and how "this young man has brought honor to us by offering to give the Okipa." Each speech would end with an appeal for goods of some sort to be used in the coming summer ceremony "which was, after all, given for our benefit." People gave freely for the benefit of a clan brother.

Each family of the tribe felt itself to be benefited by the summer Okipa ceremony and expected to give something. The Okipa Maker took his pipe to each lodge where people of his clan lived, placing it before the door, and the women brought out their contributions. Okipa Makers able to produce a large

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food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were considered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his ceremonial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

Second day.—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

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Mrs. Good Bear remembered an old man with the medicine of the otter. The otter was said to extract arrowheads and bullets by sticking his head into the wound.

The Mandan had one doctoring practice not employed by the Hidatsa. Sometimes a baby got a sore mouth and could not nurse its mother. The child's father would call one of his own brothers saying, "I want to drink of your blood."

The father would use an awl to prick a hole in his brother's leg and the child's mouth was put over the wound. When a man had no brothers, he called a man of his own clan. The rule was that the blood one drank must come from a man of the father's clan. Crows Heart showed several scars where he had given blood to cure sore mouths.

Breaking rules was believed to be the cause of bad luck. This could be either intentional or unintentional. Sometimes the guardian spirit was said to abandon one who violated some rule. Crows Heart said that it was impossible to explain why some men who were so particular about obeying all the rules should lose power. Edgar Crows Heart took his mother's brother's mink hide[13] to use in a dance without getting permission. Shortly afterward, he was thrown from a horse and suffered a broken nose, a result, Crows Heart, the father, said of taking a medicine bundle without the right.

Scattercorn was the only informant to give an example of sleight-of-hand practices performed as the result of a dream. In the hereditary bundle rites people claimed to have corn, buffalo, and other spirits in their body which came up into the mouth during the ceremonies.[14] Her account is of one not informed in the actual rites.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF POWER OF MEDICINE

My father's father ran away from the village when the smallpox came and lived with the Crow Indians out west. He was one who fasted much. One time he fasted on a high mountain. He became so weak that he could not get down the mountain and fell unconscious in the snow. A bear, porcupine, and otter came to him and said, "Son, we heard you cry and are going to help you." Those spirits carried him down the mountain, and he was so weak that he could not help himself. He became unusually holy because so many animals

13. Hidatsa Creek medicine.

14. Also reported by Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIV (Cleveland, 1906), 33.

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they trapped along the Cannonball River and in the Black Hill region, especially along the north side, which was jointly occupied with the Cheyenne, whom he believed used the same methods and followed the same rituals. He had heard the old men say that it was understood that the eagle-trapping season should not be marked by bloodshed between the two tribes, or the trappers would have bad luck, and that their camps were often only a short distance apart. There would be visiting between camps and good-natured joking about the potency of their respective bundles. He further added that, through misfortune, the Mandan died off in such large numbers that they were obliged to relinquish most of their territory and establish a new territory which Hidatsa leaders had relinquished through simultaneous misfortunes. He had also heard the old men say that before abandoning the Cannonball region the Arikara, who then lived as far north as the Grand River to the south, had a similar treaty with the Sioux not to fight during the eagle-trapping season and at that time began to come into Mandan territory to make trouble. Since one was not permitted to carry his weapons to the pit,[4] a practice observed until trapping was abandoned a few years ago, the Mandan decided that it would be best to abandon their Cannonball River sites. New sites were established in Hidatsa trapping territory after the Mandan moved from the Heart River region to join the Hidatsa. Crows Heart had often visited the Crows and had heard them say they preferred to shoot the young birds, while still near their nesting places, to sitting in pits. There was also a period when the Snake Indians bothered the trappers, but he thought that it was not so long ago, as the Indians had horses by that time.[5]

A few leaders went to the east side of the Missouri River while occupying the Heart River region. Pits were dug as far east as Dog Den Butte and around Devils Lake. This was a limited territory since, in general, the country was too flat on the east side of the Missouri for successful trapping.

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Ownership of a site was vested in the leader who had either purchased the lodge and adjacent pits from a man of his own

4. This practice suggests that a truce between tribes was quite universal before the introduction of the horse.

5. No doubt he referred to a recent eastward movement of Shoshonean-speaking groups after the appearance of the horse on the Northern Plains.

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clan or who had occupied unclaimed territory, erected his own lodge, and marked the outlines of pits. Inheritance of trapping sites was through the clan, and one could not secure permanent ownership of a trapping site owned by a man of a different clan. The nearest clan relative took possession of the site upon the death of the owner if it had not been sold. One could pay for permission to use a particular site for a season from one of a different clan when the owner did not intend to make use of it himself, but he was obliged to use the pits already dug and could not prepare new ones. In other words, a man could rent a site from an owner of a different clan, but he could not buy. When a site had been abandoned so long that its owner was not known, another could claim the site. Evidently little trouble was experienced over claims to sites, since a violator would have been severely criticized. There was, in addition, a religious taboo, since both the eagles and the bears belonging to the ritual occupied major bundle status in each tribe, and a trespasser could never have attained a position of prominence in either tribe.

The ritualistic differences between the Mandan and Hidatsa were no greater than those between separate bundle lines within the same village. Wolf Chief's narrative (to be quoted later) illustrates the extent to which one tribe borrowed from the other in purchasing an eagle-trapping bundle. His father, Small Ankles, purchased his rights from Big Cloud, who advised him to receive his instructions from Arrowhead Earrings, a Mandan, who was better informed. A study of individual bundle lines reveals that borrowing back and forth has been going on regularly since the smallpox epidemic of 1837, and from traditional information from informants this also applied to all their neighboring tribes as well. In native theory the particular ritual practiced at any time depended on these three factors: (1) the instructions received when the bundle was transferred; (2) elements of other eagle-trapping bundle rituals purchased; and (3) vision instructions.

A bundle-owner could sell his rights four times, and it was only when the fourth sale was made that the original bundle was transferred, new bundles being made up for the first three sales. The amount of instruction received depended on the desires of

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IX

BIG BIRD CEREMONY

THE birds belonging to this ceremony were classed in four groups: (1) hawks, ravens, and crows; (2) young calumet eagles; (3) old calumet eagles; and (4) bald eagles. According to the myth, the thunderbird was considered a relative of these birds, while in other myths the thunderbird was referred to as any one of the four groups of birds listed above.

The various rites were frequently referred to as the Thunderbird ceremony. However, birds other than those included in these rites, as well as the Sun and Moon and the snakes, were believed to possess the supernatural power of producing thunder and lightning.

There were two principal bundles appertaining to the ceremony. The Black Medicine bundle owned by Red Buffalo Cow (Prairie Chicken clan) was traditionally founded by Black Medicine, while the Sweet Medicine bundle was believed to have been founded by Grows in Lee Places, his twin brother. The latter bundle was last owned by Sand (Speckled Eagle clan). These two bundles came from Nuptadi Village. A second Black Medicine bundle owned by Little Shield (Prairie Chicken clan) came from Fort Clark Village. The linked character of the Prairie Chicken and Speckled Eagle clans was expressed by the inheritance through the clan of two closely related bundles from two "brothers" of different clans.

The two bundles had a common mythological origin based on the exploits of two brothers. The myth was supplied by Ben Benson, while much of the data on rites relating to the bundle were secured from White Calf.

BIG BIRD CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEN BENSON[1]

This account goes back to the time when the villages were near the mouth of Heart River. Chief Bird was the head man of one of the villages. His sons

1. For another relation of this myth by the same informant see Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," XXXII [1938]), pp. 53–62.

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Den Butte would be with the enemy. The performers were then cleansed with sage by the leader and left the lodge. The giver and his wife remained to assist in the division of the goods. Then á man with rights in one of the Holy Woman bundles entered to announce that there were a great many holy women who were always working for the benefit of the Mandan.[3] These women came in dancing and received a part of the goods.

The officers of the ceremony, the giver, and his wife went to the bundle-owner's lodge where a sweat lodge was ready. After the cleansing ceremony, all received food prepared by the bundle-owner's wives.

Persons giving the ceremony within the memory of living informants were Standing Bear, Belly Up, Foolish Bear, and Bear on the Flat.

Women could buy the right to wear the buffalo robe, representing Woman Living in Dog Den Butte, and to dance in the Buffalo-calling ceremony. She was also entitled to wear the magpie tail feathers and sage on her head, as well as to carry an ash digging stick when other women representing various Holy Women met to dance.

A complete bundle contained the following articles: (1) arrow-straightener of buffalo rib with perforations; (2) wooden groover; (3) rawhide with sand glued to it as polisher; (4) grapevine; (5) tanned fawnskin; (6) two feet of white owl; (7) two feet of the small owl; (8) yellow and black clay for painting; (9) one large white-owl wing feather; (10) gray sage; (11) bow and lance; (12) buffalo robe; (13) magpie tail feathers; and (14) plain black elbow pipe.

Hits on Back was the only owner of a complete bundle which had come from Nuptadi Village. Inheritance was in the Waxi-kEna clan, since the ceremony was related to the Okipa. Related items in the bundle could be sold four times, but the last sale was of the entire original bundle.

When sales were made of portions of the bundle, transfer was from father to son or individuals in that relationship.[4] Partial

3. Actually, after the smallpox epidemic, there were few women holding rights in the Holy Women bundles.

4. The practice of transmitting principal bundles within the clan and secondary or partial bundles from father to son is not unique to this ceremony alone. See Old Woman Who Never Dies myth (chap. vi) and the Okipa ceremony (chap. iv) for additional data.

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sales were as follows: (1) arrowmaking rights (Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10); (2) owl rights (Items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10); and (3) Holy Woman rights (Items 10, 11, 12, 13). The buffalo-calling rights were reserved for the main bundle-owner. There is no evidence of a bundle coming from Mitutanka Village.

SNOW OWL CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY BEAR ON THE FLAT[5]

773 539

A long time ago the Mandan were divided up into groups trapping eagles along the creeks west of the Missouri River. They were living in the usual eagle-trapping lodges made on the four-post standard. Black Wolf was one of the party. Being a good hunter, Old Black Bear was glad to have him along. He would go out into the pit whenever the winds were from the west and he was catching many birds. One warm afternoon, when in his pit, he became sleepy and was dozing off when he heard a rumbling sound. He awoke instantly. This same sound occurred on three consecutive days, but each time he woke up. On the fourth day, he was asleep when it occurred.

When he finally woke up, his pit was so dark that he thought night had come. When he touched the roof of his pit, he found that a large rock covered it, holding him prisoner beneath. When he could not get out, he cried. He lost all track of time. At last he saw daylight and was glad to get out of the pit. He found himself in a strange country. He saw a high hill and went there to get his directions again. From there he saw timber farther on, and at the edge of it there was a very small man motioning with his robe for him to come over. He went to the stranger and found him to be a small man, almost a dwarf, with a fair complexion, yellow hair, and a slightly hooked nose. This little man spoke in Mandan, and Black Wolf was glad to hear a voice again. He was invited to a lodge which was a four-post eagle-trapping lodge. There he saw a middle-aged man sitting at the head of the lodge making arrows. The arrowmaker did not speak, but the little man asked him to sit down.

After a while the arrowmaker said to the little man, "My helper, you have brought in a stranger. Prepare food for him."

The little man brought in dried meat and fat which he cooked over the coals. When it was crisp, he placed it on a wooden platter and set it before Black Wolf. Being very hungry, he ate it all up. Then the little man brought him water in a buffalo horn.

When Black Wolf had eaten, the arrowmaker said to the little man again, "It is time for us to eat now." The meat Little Man brought in was from around the sinews of the back. This he pounded up with a stone hammer and made into pemmican. Then he brought out an earthen kettle full of water and set it onto the fire. When the water was hot, he brought out a white substance and put it into the kettle. Then he said, "The meal is ready."

The arrowmaker said, "Bring my paint," and the Little Man ran to obey him. The paint was yellow, and the arrowmaker daubed spots of it all over his body. He tied a scalp on his left wrist, then stood up and danced around the fire to the rhythm of his own breathing. Each time he came to the kettle, he

5. Another version of this myth is recorded in Martha Warren Beckwith, *Mandan-Hidatsa Myths and Ceremonies* ("Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society," Vol. XXXII [1938]), pp. 149–54.

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Bulls." The women then returned to their places, put on their buffalo robes, and passed around the food to the old men representing the buffalo bulls and to the spectators.

The next performance was the "Giving the Wives" to the buffalo bulls.[4] One of the young men, addressing his wife, would say, "Wife, I want you to help me to become a lucky man. I want you to walk with my father."[5] The rule was for a young man always to select an old man of his father's clan. If the man selected did not choose to have intercourse with his "son's" wife, he would stop her before she reached the door.

One time when Red Coyote was selected, he said: "Stop right there, my 'granddaughter.' I want you to hold my medicine bundle now. Once I fasted four days in a ravine. While I slept, an owl came to me and said that I would be a lucky man and live to be old. I have killed an enemy, captured six horses, and struck three enemies. I pray that you will live a long time, be healthy, raise many children, and keep free of diseases."[6] Both returned to their places and sat down.

Each young man selected an old man to "walk with his wife."[7] Some men stopped the women at the door and did not care to go outside with them; others went outside. In either case, the woman was given the old man's medicine bundle (vision bundle), which she clasped to her breast, believing that, by doing so, some of its powers would enter her body.

An unmarried man could participate by bringing his brother's or clan brother's wife. Men never brought women of other

4. This portion of the ceremony appears to have been rather famous among the early visitors to the Mandan and Hidatsa (see *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804–1806*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, I [New York, 1905], 245; *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri*, ed. and trans. Annie Heloise Abel [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939], pp. 196–97; Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites [Cleveland, 1906], XXIII, 334; XXIV, 27–31). In addition, Thompson and Henry saw portions of a similar ceremony but apparently misinterpreted the actions (see *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell [Toronto, 1916], pp. 225–38, and "Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson," in *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, ed. Elliot Coues, I [New York, 1897], 326–27).

5. This is what Good Bear said when he sent his wife to one of the old men, according to Mrs. Good Bear. "Father" refers to a male member of Good Bear's father's clan.

6. Red Coyote was frozen in a late-spring blizzard near Rainy Buttes shortly after this.

7. Mrs. Good Bear related that her ceremonial grandfather went out with her, all the while bellowing in imitation of a buffalo bull.

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tribes who had recently married into the tribe, believing that the spirits of the red sticks would then help the other tribe. However, when such women had joined a Mandan clan, they could participate.

Sometimes, when a man refused to walk with his "granddaughter," her husband placed a filled pipe before him. This left the old man one of two choices: (1) he could walk with her, or (2) he could invoke the spirits of the north that sent storms driving the buffaloes to the Missouri River to help her and her husband. A woman was not offered to a man of her own clan or to immediate blood relatives.

Mrs. Good Bear recognized this as a separate ceremony at the lower village, Mitutanka, and did not believe that it was performed at Nuptadi in this form, as they had the Buffalo-calling rites of the Snow Owl ceremony, which was similar in some respects to the Red Stick ceremony. Scattercorn verified this information by stating that Standing Bear, who owned the Red Stick ceremony, came up early to Like-a-Fishhook Village (about 1845) together with the survivors of the lower village and that, after the Nuptadi survivors joined the other Mandans, both ceremonies were given but never at the same time.

The sacred myth belonging to the ceremony was related by Mrs. Good Bear.

RED STICK CEREMONY MYTH RELATED BY MRS. GOOD BEAR

A long time ago there was a respectable young woman named Corn Silk who had then been single for several years. Many men wanted to marry her, but she always refused. One day her parents said, "Why don't you get married?" They scolded her, and she felt bad because they had quarreled. When night came, she went outside and lay on top of the doorway to the earth lodge to sleep and would not go into the lodge that night. She went to sleep.

When she awoke, someone was carrying her on his shoulders, and she knew that someone had her in his power. She couldn't get away. They went along until they came to his lodge. He put her in a bed, thinking that she was asleep, but she knew everything that happened. Then there was another woman, an owl, and a large grizzly bear in the lodge. The man asked Owl Woman to cook something for Corn Silk, and she began to prepare food. Then she said, "Corn Silk, you should get up and eat." Owl Woman brought water for her to wash with, and then she ate.

The man came in again and said to Owl Woman, "Send her into the woods to get fuel. Tell her to take the bear with her."

He walked out and then Owl Woman said, "You are a good and beautiful

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believed that the supernatural powers were transferred to her own body. These supernatural powers were in turn transmitted to her husband in the daily activities of living and working together. Men receiving sacred objects either to own or to hold took them in the same manner but did not hold them to the breast.

The faith of the Mandan in their sacred objects was unshaken by two severe smallpox epidemics. They speak of these epidemics as unfortunate and explain the impotency of their rites to protect the tribe on the grounds that, when the original ceremonies were introduced into the tribe, the sacred beings made no promise of tribal immunity to the white man's diseases. They believe that the tribe would have been exterminated by their enemies subsequent to the last smallpox epidemic had the ceremonies been abandoned.

The Mandan sacred bundles fall into two general categories. They are (1) the hereditary tribal bundles and (2) the personal bundles. Of these two groups of bundles, the former played a more significant role in the total ceremonial life and in a large measure set the background for the supernatural experiences which instituted the personal bundles.

At this point it would be well to indicate some of the general characteristics of these bundles not indicated in the main body of the report. The Mandan place greatest values on those bundles and ceremonies which traditionally were instituted in very early times. Foremost of these are the Okipa, founded by Lone Man and Hoita, and those Corn ceremonies which were founded by Good Furred Robe. Not only are these two ceremonies considered oldest, but they also involve the greatest number of participants.

The Okipa was without question the most complicated and colorful ceremony performed in the Northern Plains. According to tradition, the principal officers of the ceremony belonged to the WaxikEna clan. This clan was intrusted with the care and repair of the sacred cedar and other sacred objects appertaining to the ceremony. A male member of that clan occupied the sacred lodge and acted as announcer whenever tribal ceremonies were performed. A man selected one of his own clan to become his son-in-law to perpetuate the lineage in the sacred

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778 796 •614 428 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man, who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected. [604] The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 621 Although villages were reported to be largely independent ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 621 361 The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, [431] gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an [782] offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 773 changed from generation to generation. When no sacred myth belonged to the ceremony or there were no sacred instructions at the time of the inception of the ceremony, the Mandan believed these ceremonies were borrowed of neighboring tribes. The Adoption Pipe ceremony belonged in this category. The sacred myth enumerated the benefits which would accrue to the tribe and the giver of the ceremony when the rites were performed.

773 602 776 The sacred myths were the basis for an extension of the kinship system to include the world of the supernatural. First Creator was addressed as "very old one," while Lone Man, who assisted him in the creation of the earth, was addressed by persons of the WaxikEna and Tamisik clans as "ptawadatodE" or "mother's brother." Those of the opposite moiety addressed him as "father." Sun and Moon were "father" and their sister was "father's sister." Their mother was addressed as "grandmother," a term also used for the various holy women of the ash groves, the field mice, the corn mill, and all female beings present on the earth on the "first day of creation." An individual addressed a sacred being appearing in a dream and not belonging to the category of tribal gods as "father" if a male and "father's sister" if a female.

778 425 428 ●614 The Mandan system of bundle inheritance shows evidence of change within the last century. Certain bundles and ceremonial rights traditionally inherited through the clan and more specifically from the mother's brother, such as the Okipa belonging to the WaxikEna clan and the Shell Robe bundle of the Prairie Chicken clan, showed a tendency to change to a father-son inheritance of the Hidatsa pattern. The eagle-trapping lodges were still inherited through the clan as late as 1929, but the associated bundles had changed from clan inheritance to father-son inheritance after 1875. The system of inheritance was more flexible than for the Hidatsa, with whom they were intimately associated. At first I was inclined to believe that this greater flexibility was due, in part at least, to the breakdown of the older system, an opinion which I have now abandoned. The Mandan parents often selected their daughters' husbands and gave them preliminary assistance in ceremonial matters. The sons and daughters of a household usually purchased the par-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ents' bundle collectively and designated one of their number, generally the oldest son, to be the custodian. A family having only daughters sold to the son-in-law providing he had been successful in warfare and had removed the mother-in-law taboo.

Unlike the Hidatsa, where bundle transfers were vision inspired, the Mandan seem to have placed greater emphasis on the personality and interests of the one to receive a tribal bundle. One owning an important bundle and getting along in years would frequently suggest to a younger person that he should buy into the bundle rites. The period of preparation was prolonged and frequently extended over several years. Since bundle rights could be sold four times, there were usually a number of people receiving instructions simultaneously. New bundles were made up for those buying part of the rites, while the original bundle was retained for the nearest relatives. When feasts were given to the bundle, all those having any rights in the bundle or related bundle rites were entitled to attend. This practice extended the ritualistic lore to many persons outside the immediate bundle-owner's family and probably explains why so much of the traditional lore was preserved through the smallpox epidemic of 1837. So far as it was possible to determine, the number of tribal bundle rites was not materially reduced during the nineteenth century.

The personal bundles constitute another important group of sacred objects. These were individually owned and were rarely inherited. The bundle was assembled after receiving a vision from some supernatural being, instructing him to assemble a bundle which would bring certain benefits to the individual. Unlike the tribal bundles, a buffalo skull was not a part of the bundle, and there were no sacred myths. There was a sacred song and a prescribed rule of behavior to be followed when the bundle was open. An unusually successful individual would sometimes sell his bundle to a son about to leave on a war expedition. These bundles, however, were rarely sold and were usually put away when the original owner died.

Both men and women had personal bundles. Women usually fasted less frequently and had only one bundle; usually the guardian spirit promised her a long life and the right to cure. Men fasted frequently and were recognized for the number of

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very early by means of trade with nations farther east, and thus were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: — As regards the social organization, the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the first method, like the Pawnee, they were known according to the old village from which they had originally come. Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct village names. He says that the people were known by the names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains division according to age. The First Chief who led them from underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distinguished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle, by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the band above was only obtained by purchase from a member who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place in a band still higher up. New members must be received by all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made. Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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197 or the thirteen villages with which Maximilian's informants credited them,[1] in the beginning of the nineteenth century there certainly were two villages, Nū'pta (Ruhptare) and Mį'tutąk (Mihtuttahangkusch), speaking distinct dialects, as is demonstrated by Maximilian's vocabularies.[2] One of my informants added a third village, Istápe, (given by Morgan as a clan name), where she said the Nū'pta dialect was spoken.

621 It is clear from Maximilian's data that between Nū'pta and Mį'tutąk [184] there was also a minor cultural differentiation in the matter of dances. The question in connection with our immediate problem is how to conceive ● 614 the relation of the villages to the social divisions. Maximilian tells us that 174 the Mandan called themselves "Nū'mangkā'ke" (*nū'makā'ki*) i. e., people, and were wont to add the name of the village from which they had originally come. Thus, there were Prairie-chicken people, so-called after the Prairie-chicken village; Bear people, Cactus people, Badger people,— all named from corresponding villages.

> Obgleich nun alle die oben genannten Dörfer nicht mehr existiren, so nennen sich dennoch alle diese Indianer ihrer Abstammung zufolge noch nach denselben.[3]

This is a clear-cut statement to the effect that the Mandan clans developed in recent times from formerly distinct local groups. If we assume that the ancient village scheme involved local exogamy and matrilineal descent, or that the latter was grafted on the former, possibly through borrowing, the fusion of people from different settlements would quite naturally lead to the evolution of exogamous clans. The statement of one of my informants that all the clans were found in both Mį'tutąk and Nū'pta is not inconsistent with such a line of development since this condition would be readily brought about by intermarriage. However, all this is pure speculation and the questions involved will only become clearer after considering the social organization of the Mandan as sketched by recent informants and comparing it with that of the Hidatsa and other tribes.

616 The Mandan were divided into non-exogamous moieties corresponding [171] in name to those of the Hidatsa, viz., Three-clans (nū'makā'ki ō'rehe nā'mini) and Four-clans (nū'makā'ki ō're tōp). According to Black-chest, the names of the moieties and the constituent clans were originated by the legendary warrior Seven-wolf when returning from a victorious expedition against the Arikara. Information is very meager as to the functions of the dual division in tribal life, but here there is again close correspondence to Hidatsa conditions. During a general council of the Mandan the Three-

[1] Maximilian, II, 103.
[2] *ibid.*, 557–561.
[3] *ibid.*, 104.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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clans were ranged on one side, the Four-clans on the other. In building an earth-lodge the Three-clan women would put earth on one side and the Four-clan women on the other.

It is altogether improbable that the Hidatsa and Mandan moiety systems should have had an independent origin. The question at once arises, then, which was the borrowing tribe. The complete lack of any trace of the dual division among the Crow suggests that the Hidatsa imitated the Mandan scheme, a conclusion which I was at first tempted to draw. However, there is no satisfactory evidence on behalf of this interpretation. In the first place, the moieties of the Winnebago, the closest linguistic allies of the Mandan, were exogamous, while there is no indication that this applies to the Mandan and Hidatsa divisions; moreover, the Mandan differ from all other Siouans and resemble the Hidatsa and Crow in the rule of matrilineal descent. There is thus no *a priori* reason for assigning the rôle of transmitter to the Mandan rather than to the Hidatsa. Secondly, there is a disparity between the designations of the Mandan moieties and the number of their clans such as does not occur among the Hidatsa. Some informants, to be sure, make the number correspond to the moiety names, and Morgan without speaking of a dual division lists seven clans. But other Mandans give the number as eleven or even sixteen, while nine are reported by Mr. Curtis. The informant who spoke of sixteen clans added that more of them belonged to the Four-clan than to the Three-clan moiety, but this struck me as an obvious afterthought,— as a secondary attempt to harmonize as best he could two sets of contradictory facts. Although the information obtained is hardly sufficient to permit a definite solution, I rather incline to Mr. Curtis's view that the Mandan moiety scheme is derived from the Hidatsa, whose clans conform in number to the moiety names.

The following scheme was furnished by Two-chiefs, herself a member of the first-named clan:—

Three-Clan Moiety.

maxi' 'kina
tamī'sik
nū'pta

Four-Clan Moiety.

si' pucka nū'mak, Prairie-chicken people
xtaxtám nū'mak, Young white-headed Eagle[1]
mánakactðk nū'mak, People all in a bunch[2]
xō'xixā'ka nū'mak, Crow people (said to refer to the scalp on a stick)

[1] Mr. Curtis, (v, 145), translates the word "Spotted Eagle."
[2] Presumably Mr. Curtis's Madhakashtak, "Clump of Wood."

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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In this list it will be noted that the third name in the first moiety coincides with that of the Nū′pta village and dialectic division. Black-chest, of the same moiety, substituted the ma′nakactə̄k for the nū′pta, and Turtle-woman, likewise a Three-clan, gave the tamī′kexik in the same place. This name suspiciously resembles another, tamī′kaxik, Bad Packstrap, which the same authority gave as an ancient designation of the maxi′ʻkina people, who were so named because they used poor string to tie with. Both Black-chest and Turtle-woman regarded the tamī′sik as equivalent to the Hidatsa mɛ′ʻ tsirō′ʻke (Knife) clan. There is no suggestion that this was meant to interpret the meaning of the name, and Turtle-woman said that the tamī′sik were Wolf people. This is probably merely a symbolic reference since the words for "wolf" are quite different in Maximilian's vocabularies. As regards the constitution of the Four-clan moiety, Turtle-woman and Two-chiefs are in perfect agreement.

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Calf-woman said that there were eleven clans grouped in moieties but made no attempt to classify the ten names she actually supplied. Like Maximilian, she regarded all the clans as connected with different villages; accordingly, it is not surprising that she should have included nū′pta in her list. On the other hand, several others are omitted in her enumeration, which follows: —

si′ pucka
xtaxta′ nū′ma ʻkɛ
mī′ti ā′ki, Village above
maxáhe
tamī′sik
ō′rɛʻ ʻkū′ʻpa, Seven-different-kinds
mā′ak ī′xtit mī′ti, Hilltop village
mī′tixā′ʻrɛ, Scattered village
mī′ī′tik ɛ′exicot nū′makā′ʻki, White-bellied mouse people
nūptarɛ

Three names not recorded by me at all are given by Mr. Curtis,— the maaē′ (kshuk), Red Butte; the matēk, Badger; and the madhadhacu, Charcoal. Of these the Badger people are also mentioned by Maximilian, but his Bear and Cactus villages seem to have no equivalents in either Mr. Curtis's or my own lists. Morgan's[1] list of seven clans includes the Prairie-chickens, Maximilian's Bear and Calf-woman's Village-above people,— also a Wolf (Horata), Good Knife (Tanatsuka), Eagle (Kitanemake), and Flathead (Estapa) clan.

[1] Morgan, (b), part II, chapter 6.

5: Lowie E-5 (1910-1913)1917
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According to Calf-woman, the Prairie-chicken clan is the most important on the Reservation. This is consistent with Mr. Curtis's data, according to which the larger moiety bears the name of this clan, corresponding preëminence being assigned to the tamï'sik in the Three-clan moiety. It should be noted that the Prairie-chicken clan is the only one common to the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

Calf-woman's ō'rɛ' 'kūpa (nitɛ) was given by Turtle-woman not as the designation of a clan but of all the seven clans jointly in addressing the entire tribe.

Mr. Curtis states that the marriage of fellow-clansmen was considered improper and publicly ridiculed, but according to my witnesses this rule has long ceased to be absolute. Thus, Calf-woman declared that sometimes people married within their own clan, though there were some who regarded this as wrong; and Two-chiefs, a maxi' 'kina married to a xtaxta', cited the case of her husband's mother who had married another xtaxta', not related by blood.

Kinship Terms.

A brief but in most respects accurate statement as to Mandan kinship nomenclature is made by Maximilian.[1] Recently Mr. Curtis has summarily characterized the Mandan terminology as largely influenced by the clan factor, the father's brother and his clansmen being classed with the father, the father's clanswomen with the father's sister, all mates in one's clan with brothers and all females as mothers.[2] This statement is undoubtedly in large measure correct, but, the last part is manifestly not to be taken literally since the mother's mother and her generation and the sisters are certainly not called "mother." Morgan already had to contend with the difficulty of finding interpreters fully conversant with Mandan and offers an avowedly imperfect list. So far as essentials are concerned, he correctly characterizes the system as of the usual classificatory type. The most important deviation from the norm mentioned in his résumé consists in the classification of the father's sister with the mother in feminine parlance, a distinctive word for paternal aunt being used only by males.[3] My data yield no confirmation of this peculiarity. A remarkable feature found by Morgan among the Hidatsa and Crow but not noted by him among the Mandan, though recorded both by Mr. Curtis and myself, is the confusion of generations in the designation of the father's sister's female descendants

[1] Maximilian, II, 122, 543.
[2] Curtis, V, 145.
[3] Morgan, (a), 184.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NO17 Mandan NQ17

perhaps more, villages. They call themselves Numangkake (*i. e.*, men), and if they wish to particularize their descent, they add the name of the village whence they came originally. Some, for instance, call themselves Sipuske-Numangkake, the men of the pheasant or prairie hens, from the village Sipuska-Mihte, pheasant village; others, Mato-Numangkake, the men of the bear, from the village Mato-Mihte, bear village, &c. &c. Another general name of this people is Mahna-Narra, the sulky, because they separated from the rest of their nation, and went higher up the Missouri.

The early history of the Mandans is involved in obscurity; their own traditions and legends will be discussed in the sequel, when treating on their religious ideas. They affirm that they descend originally from the more eastern nations, near the sea-coast.* Though the above-named villages do not all exist at this time, these Indians still call themselves by their several names. They formerly dwelt near the Heart River: when Charbonneau arrived here at the end of the last century, the two Mandan villages, which are still standing, were about six or eight miles further down the Missouri. The small-pox and the assaults of their enemies have so reduced this people, that the whole number now reside in two villages, in the vicinity of Fort Clarke. These two villages are Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush (the southern village), about 300 paces above Fort Clarke, and on the same side of the river, and Ruhptare,† about three miles higher up, likewise on the same bank. The first had, at the time of our visit, sixty-five huts, and contained about 150 warriors; the other, thirty-eight huts and eighty-three warriors. According to this, the tribe had not more than 230 or 240 warriors; and, on the whole, scarcely 900 or 1000 souls; Dr.

* Warden is mistaken when he says (Vol. III. p. 559), that the Mandans are descended from the Crows; for this is applicable to the Manitaries, of whom we shall speak afterward.

† Lewis and Clarke write this name Rooptahee, which is incorrect. (See Account of their Journey, Vol. I. p. 159.) These celebrated travellers passed the winter among the Mandans, and give many particulars respecting them, which, on the whole, are correct; but their proper names and words from the Mandan and Manitari languages are, in general, inaccurately understood and written. It is said, they derived their information from a person named Jessaume, who spoke the language very imperfectly, as we were assured everywhere on the Missouri. Of this kind are many of the names mentioned by these travellers, which neither the Indians nor the Whites were able to understand; for instance, Ahnahaways (Vol. I. p. 115), a people who are said to have formerly dwelt between the Mandans and the Manitaries; likewise Mahawha, where the Arwacahwas lived (*ibid.*); the fourth village is said to have been called Menharta, and to have been inhabited by Manitaries (*ibid.*); of all these names, except, perhaps, Mahawha, which ought probably to be Machaha, nobody could give us the slightest information, not even Charbonneau, though he has lived here so many years. It is necessary to be much on your guard against bad interpreters, and I acted in this respect with much caution. All the information given by me, respecting Indian words and names, was carefully written down from the statements of sensible, well-informed men of these nations. I have endeavoured to write down their language exactly, according to its real pronunciation, in doing which, the German guttural sounds were of great assistance to me, as it is that of the Missouri Indians. Mr. Kipp and Charbonneau, with some others who have lived long among these Indians, daily assisted me, during a long winter, with much patience and kindness, in this work.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

mother-in-law never speaks to her son-in-law; but if he comes home, and brings her the scalp of a slain enemy, and his gun, she is at liberty, from that moment, to converse with him. This custom is found among the Manitaries, who have, doubtless, borrowed it from the Mandans, but not among the Crows and Arikkaras. Among the Chippeways, and the Algonquins in general, the name must not be changed; and persons with the same name must not marry, but consider each other as brothers and sisters. Among all the North American Indian nations there are men dressed and treated like women, called, by the Canadians, Bardaches, of whom Mc Kenzie, Tanner, Langsdorff, and others, have spoken; but there was only one such among the Mandans, and two or three among the Manitaries.

Volney, and some other writers, have spoken rather too unfavourably of the moral character of the aborigines of North America, and their domestic habits. According to them, distrust and hostile feeling prevail among them, for which reason they never leave their huts unarmed; but I can bear witness that they are frequently seen in their villages, as well as in the environs, without arms, and that it is only at greater distances, and when they appear in state, that they carry their weapons in their hands. I have never observed any disputes among them, but, on the contrary, much more unity and tranquillity than in civilized Europe. It has often been asserted that the Indians are inferior in intellectual capacity to the Whites; but this has been now sufficiently refuted; and Harlan is not wrong in saying that, among the races of men, of which Blumenbach reckons five, the American should be ranked immediately after the Caucasian. If man, in all his varieties, has not received from the Creator equally perfect faculties, I am, at least, convinced that, in this respect, the Americans are not inferior to the Whites. Many of the Mandans manifest a great thirst for knowledge, and much desire to hear something of objects of a higher order; and if they were not so much attached to the prejudices inherited from their ancestors, many of them might be very easily instructed. The bad examples which they so often observe in the white men, who roam about their country in quest of gain, are not calculated to inspire them with much respect for our race, or to improve their morality. And if they have not been found inclined to the Christian religion, this is, certainly, in some measure, the consequence of the bad conduct of the Whites, who call themselves Christians, and are often worse, and more immoral, than the most uncivilized of the Indians. Many American and foreign works have taken notice of the striking good sense and wit, the correct judgment of the Indians, in all the occurrences of daily life, and it would be mere repetition here to quote examples. One is often at a loss to answer their questions, founded on correct and natural judgment. The inactive mode of life natural to the Indians, which disdains all laborious exertion, is a great obstacle to their adopting a different system. But they are not deficient in talent for drawing, music, &c., and this is quite manifest at first sight. Several Mandans not only took much pleasure in drawing, but had a decided talent for it. The hieroglyphics are well known, which the Indians employ

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

indirect effect of contact resulted in the displacement of Eastern tribes, the formation of full Plains equestrian nomadism, and constant raids by hostile groups. These momentous events precipitated radical changes in the cultures of all Plains-Prairie peoples, and the Mandan-Hidatsa were no exception, although they did change less than other earth-lodge tribes (Strong 1940; Jablow 1950; Eggan 1952; Krieger 1953).

Indian culture today includes automobiles, farm equipment, washing machines, radios, and other material objects of American culture. Clothing and household goods are generally purchased through Western mail order catalogs. The major sources of cash income are the cattle business, agricultural enterprises, leasing lands to whites, wage work, and relief money. Every adult has attended government or missionary schools, and Catholic and Congregational Churches are established in the village. Thirty-one of the sixty-four males over seventeen years of age have had military experience.

Lone Hill village has never been a closed, self-sufficient society, from the time it was founded in the last decade of the nineteenth century with the allotment program of the Indian Bureau until the present. Today every adult deals with white people who reside outside the community, although contact is limited. The Indian's cash income and the education of his children are controlled in part by the Indian Bureau and by forces in the larger American society. Agency personnel, government employees, missionaries, day school teachers, traveling salesmen and local tradespeople, farmers and ranchers, visit with Indians both on and off the reservation. The resident of Lone Hill village buys goods from white storekeepers, attends schools taught by whites, transacts business with white government people, and often seeks wage work from nearby whites. The Indian must satisfy specialized needs through the services of white doctors, lawyers and professional people.

Despite the many American elements which have been adopted, Hidatsa is the major spoken language in Lone Hill today, secular Indian ceremonial dances are performed, and the social organization includes matrilineal clans and a Crow type kinship system. Sacred bundles are highly respected, Indian doctors utilize native medicine to cure the sick, and distinctively Indian values are manifest on many occasions. The linguistic, religious, and social patterns are not considered here as isolated survivals persisting intact from the aboriginal past, for they too have changed from older times as a consequence of changing conditions of life; and they function in a very different total situation in 1950 as compared with 1850 or 1750.

Viewed historically, contemporary Indian culture is mixed. It consists of automobiles from Detroit, dances from the Cheyenne, medicine bundles from the Mandan, and a language from the Hidatsa. From the perspective of some individuals who share it, this mixed culture is perfectly consistent. No person in Lone Hill today knows how to stalk buffalo, scalp a Sioux, or shape a stone arrowhead. With the exception of a few very old people, no one in Lone Hill has ever lived in a culture in which these activities were performed. Our task is to understand how groups of individuals in Lone Hill come to regard and participate in that historically mixed but contemporary functioning Indian culture.

NQ10 Crow NQ10
[#169 (A)] Hidatsa NQ14
MANDAN NQ17

Wednesday, June 11, 120 miles above Fort Union

C 186 This morning we shot two antelope and brought them on the boat. They have no horns at this season and are shedding their hair. In some places the skin is bare and the hair comes off in handfuls. They are a fine looking animal and much larger than I expected. They are nearly as large as the common deer, white bellies and white around and below the tail which is flat and short.

C 124 Had another long talk with Meldrum this morning on several subjects. Obtained the Minnetare tribes [clans] and law of descent, also the Crow method of bestowing and changing names, and also in the changes in language, which are given below.

H 614 *Minnetare Tribes* [*Clans*], *Gros Ventres of Missouri*[128]

1. Mit′-che-ro-ka Knife Tribe
2. Min-ne-pā′-ta Water "
3. Seech′-ka-be-ruh-pā′-ka Prairie chicken
4. E-tish-sho′-ka People of the Hills
5. Ah-mah′-ha-nā′-me-ta Meaning lost—
6. E-ku′-pā-be-ka Low Hat, or Bonnet
7. Bā-ho-hā′-ta Dirt Lodges

H [582] [611] [428] All the individuals of the tribe are consanguine. No man or woman can marry a person in his own tribe and the children are of the tribe of the mother. They carry out the law of female line succession as to chief and property, the same as the Crow. These facts were obtained by Meldrum from the Minnetare chief on board, who talks Crow and with whom and the two Crow young men I made the first attempt at a Crow schedule.

H 115

Mandan Tribes [*Clans*]

M ● 614 611 191 The Mandans he says are divided into tribes and have descent in the female line, the same as the Minnetares, but he could

128 [MORGAN lists these clans in Ancient Society, p. 159 -- ANALYST]

23:Morgan E-5 (1862) 1959
NQ10 Crow NQ10
MANDAN NQ17
[#169(B)]

M
614 not talk Mandan.[129] None of the Minnetares
611 talk Mandan, but the latter talk the former.
191

Crows Change Their Names and Manner of Christening

C
553 A few days after a child is born, usually
[602] about six, there is a family council of the relatives on the father's side who give the name, instead of the mother's tribal relatives. The person who is to give the name places roots of some kind upon coals of fire and as the smoke ascends, the child is placed in his hands by the mother. He then holds him in the smoke and at the same time announces the name which he gives
C
[782] the child. He raises him up gently in the rising smoke towards heaven and invokes

129 [ABOUT a week later Morgan ascertained and recorded names of MANDAN clans. -- ANALYST]